THE LIFE CYCLE. I. BIRTH TO ADOLESCENCE

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS

As is frequently the case in primitive patrilineal societies, Mapuche wives are anxious to bear offspring, and boys are particularly desired. There is no failure to associate pregnancy with sexual intercourse, but supernatural agents may be invoked to help bring about fertilization. On rare occasions an elderly woman, presumably past childbearing, claims to have become pregnant without copulation. In such cases she attributes her condition to a vision, *perimontu*, in which a fantastic and supposedly supernatural beast possessed her. If her child is born alive, it is allowed to die for fear that it will develop into a monster. J. M. Collío, who told me of this belief, went on to say that a young woman would be laughed at if she claimed to have become pregnant without having had sexual relations.

Barren women consult a female shaman, *machi*, who specializes in such matters. Treatment usually includes drinking the blood of a sacrificed sheep or other animal and swallowing a concoction made from a plant called *wakacha* ("maize grass").[1] Sterility is regarded as incurable if the *machi* decides that it is witch caused, in which case, in Collío's words, "there is nothing to be done but to allow the husband to take another woman."

In some instances a woman who is eager to have a son, whether or not she is already pregnant, may wear the silver figure of a warrior, *ankafe weutru adentu* ("war-man-image"), attached to her breast ornament, *trapelakuchu*. In other cases such a woman may suck a little milk from the breast of a relative who is nursing a male child, or else she may seek permission to eat from the same dish with a man who has recently become the father of a son.

In a general sense babies are supposed to come from the sky,

[1] *Wakacha* may also be known as *wakawaki*, which Augusta (1916, I: 240) identified as *Pappobroa cuphiaeaeae* Sw.; family Gramineae.

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nevenuapu ("high land"). This is also one of the regions to which go the spirits of the dead, but no explicit connection is made between the two sets of ideas. It is the moon which, because of its supposed control of catamenia, is looked upon as the special god of children. When she wants a woman to become pregnant, she causes her menses to stop.[3] There is also a belief in an amorphous spirit of fertility, *choyŭlchefe*, which controls germination and reproduction in all living things. Together with a feminine counterpart, *choyŭlchefe* is supposed to dwell in bodies of water such as springs, pools, or cataracts. He is also associated with bees, which return in force each season when germination reaches a peak. *Choyŭlchefe* is not represented in any concrete form and is not the object of prayers for fertility.

An ambivalent attitude exists toward sexual relations during menstruation. Such relations are forbidden on the grounds that both parties will be subject to disease; yet intercourse at these times, it is thought, will very likely result in impregnation. There is also a belief that women who regularly enjoy orgasms are more likely to have offspring.

Although children are usually greatly desired, there are special situations wherein pregnant women prefer to have abortions. Most frequently these cases involve unwed girls whose lovers refuse to marry them. If enough hard feeling has been aroused, such a girl may resort to a *machi*. The *machi* gives her a strong infusion of cinnamon bark, the bark of the *pucha* tree,[5] and a plant called *tropa* or *trupa*,[6] which is commonly known as devil's tobacco, and which was, in point of fact, formerly smoked by the Araucanians. If this potion proves too strong for the patient, she is given an antidote of *chillko* ("fuchsia"), and a kind of ginger (Spanish, *maqui;* Mapuche,

[3] Cf. Latcham, 1924, p. 626. Latcham, 1909, p. 347, described the moon as the wife of the sun.

[5] The Spanish term is *pategua*, which Augusta (1916, I: 172), identified as *Myrceugenia pitra* Berg, family Myrtaceae.

[6] Identified by Augusta (*op. cit.*, pp. 236–37) as *Lobelia tupa* L., family Campanulaceae.

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CURING RITES

When a grown person falls ill his housemates try to treat him to the best of their ability. If he grows much worse, conferences are held among his adult male relatives and, if they feel that the case is sufficiently serious, they may decide to undertake the trouble and expense of calling for the services of a *machi*. Once this decision is reached, a delegation goes to visit the *machi*, taking along some of the patient's undergarments and a sample of feces or urine. From her examination of these things the *machi* diagnoses the ailment. Another form of diagnosis consists of the transfer of disease-laden saliva from a patient to an animal. Later, the *machi* kills the beast and studies its organs to determine the cause and nature of the sickness.[10] If she thinks that the illness is serious but that she can effect a cure, she will agree to perform the lengthy curing rite called *machitun*.[11] For this purpose, the patient is sometimes transported to the *machi*'s home, or else the *machi*, with her assistants and paraphernalia, may come to the sick person's house.

In anticipation of the *machi*'s arrival, approximately twenty people, a few women but more men, assemble at the home of the patient. Branches of cinnamon are set in the ground at his head and feet, and the *machi* undresses and examines him carefully. She, or her assistant, beats the shaman drum, *kul-trufi*, shakes rattles, sings, and prays. From time to time, at the conclusion of a verse or at some other appropriate interval, the *machi* orders the bystanders to raise the conventional shout, *yapew* or *kefafaw*, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits. Ten or twelve men generally serve as a kind of chorus. They hold hockey sticks or lengths of bamboo, and at the *machi*'s command they clash their sticks over the sick person's body and shout, "Ya, ya, YAI!" After a while, the *machi* bathes the pa-

[10] Hoosse, 1939, p. 225.

[11] For comparative descriptions of *machituns* consult Guevara, 1929, II: 114–40; Moesbach, 1930, pp. 350–70; Métraux, 1939, pp. 340–48; and Hoosse, 1939, pp. 232 ff. A variety of *machi* songs are given in Augusta, 1934, pp. 303–21.

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tient, massages his body with fragrant leaves, sucks out, *fochañ*, whatever infection she discovers (or pretends to find), gives him a drink of herbs, and prepares to divine the exact cause and nature of his ailment and the cure for it. This is the great climax of the *machitun*. By way of preparation the shaman drinks copiously of ripened urine, *fai willeñ*, mixed with a solution of ginger and cinnamon, and gives some to her helpers. She then sings and beats the *kul·truñ* more and more vigorously, jumps over the patient from one side to the other, and works herself up to such a pitch that she is supposed to go out of her mind and become possessed, *kūimin*. Thereupon, she begins to speak with the voice of the spirit that has possessed her but never does she reveal the name of her familiar.

At this stage another person engages her in conversation. He is an experienced and trustworthy man, who was previously selected for the task. He is called *duñumachife* ("interlocutor" or "interpreter"), and he must be a good speaker and endowed with a powerful memory. This man asks many leading questions of the entranced *machi*, cleverly urging her to tell as much as possible about the case, and remembering exactly what she says. After a time the *machi* stops talking and begins a violent dance. Very often she suddenly rushes out of the house to climb up and down her *rewe*.[12] She then dances around the pole, accompanied by a sturdy young man whose special function it is to catch her when she finally collapses and to hold her tightly until she returns to normal. *Machis* are said to select as special assistants men whose embrace will give them pleasure.

Members of the patient's household now provide the *machi* with water so that she may wash and restore herself. When she is ready, the *duñumachife* relates verbatim all that was said while she was possessed. The *machi* pays careful heed, explains the meaning of her remarks, tells what she has learned from the spirit's statements, and prescribes such remedies and treatment as she considers necessary. This concludes the *ma-*

[12] If a *machi* cures at home she uses her own *rewe*, but if she works at the patient's house, she generally orders a duplicate post to be erected in his yard.

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chiñew, after which the assemblage enjoys a hearty feast. Soon after, the *machi* returns home, accompanied by the same delegation that first sought her services. Part of her payment, which may consist of produce, jewelry, animals, and implements, is made at once, and the remainder is given at a stipulated date, often with the addition of numerous gifts. A *machi* must be paid in full, whether or not the patient recovers. Deaths are blamed on evil spirits beyond the *machi*'s control.

All *machitunu* are conducted along the pattern just described. Many variations exist, however, because each *machi* has full charge of a ceremony and must be immediately obeyed by all participants. Individual whims may thus enter into the conduct of the rites. Then, too, certain differences arise from the natures of the various ailments that are being cured. Not all *machis* profess to be equally skilled in handling every kind of illness. Specialization in particular diseases is common. As one skeptic pointed out, this has the practical value of limiting competition. Molina long ago classified curers as *ampives*, who work with herbs; *nilwes*, who extract insects; and *machis* who counteract witch-caused diseases.[14]

MACHI PERSONALITY

Considerable variation exists among the personalities of those who become *machis*. Many years ago the office was generally held by men, and it is practically certain that they were abnormal, at least with respect to sexual conduct. Some of them may have been true hermaphrodites, the rest were berdaches or transvestites, and widespread indulgence in sodomy and poderasty was common.[15] There then followed a period when the post of *machi* might be filled by a man or a woman,[16] and at this stage sexual irregularity is less frequently charged, particularly in regard to female practitioners. At present, male *machis* are rare, and some sexual irregularity is still associated with them (Pl. IX, Fig. 1). Certainly, they wear feminine clothes while performing their duties, and it is not unlikely

[14] Molina, 1808, II: 52.

[15] Latcham, 1924, p. 630. Medicine men are described in Smith, 1855, pp. 234–36. Also, see Moesbach, 1930, pp. 330–49.

[16] Cf. Hosse, 1939, p. 113.

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fluids were injected into eggs through tiny punctures made in the shells, and the punctures were then sealed with the root of a plant. If no black spots appeared in the yolk or albumen after three days, it was safe to eat them. 754

In Boroa area, a plant called cicuta mayor was used in poisoning persons. In Pangipulli area, either the fluids or the powdered dried viscera of a poisonous toad were used. A teacher in the area told of a clique of girls who admitted that they were planning to extract such poison from a toad to bring sickness upon a classmate who persisted in doing the best schoolwork. A non-Araucanian who had spent more than 30 years in the area told that along the beach of Pangipulli Lake one can sometimes see a heap of legs, skins, and heads of frogs in one place. "Sometimes there will be quantities of these in one spot," he said; "it is a sign that a Mapuche has made preparations to poison another." The viscera, the informant knew, were dehydrated and ground to a fine powder. 754 298

Since all sickness is the result of the ill will of another, the best preventive of ill health is to maintain the good will of all. However, once sickness has come upon someone, it can be prevented from afflicting others in the family by hiring a machi to chase the spirit of sickness from the locality. Two ways of doing this were mentioned: In one, the father of the sick person offers a sheep as sacrifice. The machi kills it and sprinkles its blood inside the ruka and in the yard surrounding it; this makes it intolerable for the spirit of sickness to stay there, and it will leave of its own accord. In another way, the machi drives the spirit of sickness, which he has just released from a sick person, away from the area. The machi orders all persons present to make a great deal of noise. Then the machi grasps a firebrand from the fireplace and swirls it in circles around the place, and orders others present to do likewise. After all have swung their firebrands for a while, the machi walks rapidly toward some water, "like a creek or river or lake," and all follow, each one brandishing his firebrand. This chases the spirit of sickness across the water, and a spirit thus chased across water cannot return; one not chased across water may possibly return at a later time. 755

Several women who had been employed as domestics in non-Araucanian homes had learned prevention by nonmaintenance. "If I had tuberculosis," said one, "I would keep my plate and yerba maté bombilla apart and would not let my children use them." There was probably little done to strengthen a child's physique as a preventive of ill health, except for the baby's cold baths, previously mentioned (pp. 20-21). "At least I have never heard anyone say so. I am 751

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one could hear the din of them at a distance. Everyone knew then 756
they were meeting." The exchange of information, however, is usually done during an annual renewal of powers (ñimin) which takes place in the fall of the year. The informant then went on to tell of such a renewal.

Always in April the machi here (Colhuipe area) renew their powers; it is when the copihues are in full bloom that it is done. Children are not allowed to witness a ñimin. My father will not allow us (adult) to witness one, but I saw one once when I was about 10 years old—a boy and I sneaked away to see one. I do not recall that the machi exchanged knowledge, but they did renew their powers. There were two machi there. Two non-machi men represented evil spirits, like devils, and had faces masked, except for the space over the eyes which was covered with red paper. The head and chest of the two machi were decorated with copihues. One of the machi feigned sickness and lay down between two manda trees. These trees were decked with copihues and coral. Invited persons had decorated them. The machi who feigned sickness was stripped of his clothes; the other sat by and did nothing. Then the sitting machi and the two masked men took a plant, peeled off the bark, and rubbed the bark between their hands until foam appeared. Everybody present put a little of the foam on the left corner of his mouth, while the machi and the two masked men rubbed the entire body of the machi who feigned sickness with it. After this, they drew a streak of blood lengthwise down the four limbs of the body of the sick machi. The blood was taken from a sheep slaughtered just then. Very close to the streak of blood they drew a streak of black, and near it a streak of white. Next to it, a streak of lamb skin was left. This then made four stripes. These four stripes were repeated until the entire body was covered. Then the machi who feigned sickness feigned death, and the entire body was covered with a plant called yahuala. The machi stayed under this nearly an hour while the other machi beat the kultrun and shook the weda, and he and the two masked men sang songs and talked of evil spirits. When the sick machi came to, he looked skyward and prayed. The whole affair took two days. This is done once a year, as I told you, when the copihues are in full bloom. Everything that is used at such a renewal, like palin and esplingo, is hidden away in the mountains; it must not be left around, nor can the palin be sold. This renewal keeps the machi's power replenished for the entire following year. Everyone invited brings a gift for each of the machi.

At the time of the present study machi were active in all areas. In Alepún area, a 55-year-old man practiced in Mehuin; in Maiquillahue of the same area, a man 70 years old and a woman 45 years old; in Alepún Isolil, a 70-year-old woman. In Puquipulli area, a woman in her thirties, a very old man, and a very old woman were active. In Colhuipe area, two old women practiced their art; in Boroa area, a woman past middle age.

THE MACHITUN: A TREATMENT OF THE SICK

The shamanistic skills and curative knowledge of the machi are 755
exercised in a performance known as the machitun. The machitun is

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a mixture of psychology, superstition, and the administration of herbal or other health restoratives. Quoting a non-Araucanian herbalist: "Of all their restoratives to health, the Mapuche have the greatest confidence in the machitun; I do not believe that it will ever be rooted out of their beliefs."

The machitun is performed over sick men and women, when indicated; more rarely over children. Several schoolchildren had had one performed over them during an epidemic of measles; some were only 2 years old at the time.

In general, the following are the features of the machitun:

(1) A performance at night with many invited persons present. "The evil spirit of sickness comes at night and must be driven out at night." The place is lit up by burning colihue stalks held by women.

(2) Use of branches of canelo, a tree for which Araucanians exhibit a feeling of respect. "There is something sacred about the tree." The machi plants branches of canelo above the head of the patient, who is in a supine position, and bowed stalked of quila between the canelo branches; at the feet of the patient, branches of laurel común; and all around the patient, twigs of lingue.

(3) The beating of the kultrun (drum) by the machi.

(4) The shaking of the wada (rattle) by the machi.

(5) Use of a stone to which magical power is ascribed. (Generally, however, such stones are used only in witchcraft.) These stones are of two types: a black one, highly polished, called likan and said to have been ejected by volcanoes; and a green headlike one, called llanka, found occasionally in prehistoric burials along with urns, and said to be decidedly more powerful than the likan. (A dying machi gave Father Sigifredo his llanka, a 4-cornered stone a little smaller than a thumbnail. It had a neatly drilled hole in the center through which a string was passed so that the stone could be suspended from the neck.)

(6) The performing machi's particular banner attached to a pole. "As soon as the machi arrives at the ruka where the sick person is, he erects to one side of the ruka and considerably taller than the ruka the pole for his banner. At each side of the pole he plants a young branch of either maqui or palqui."

(7) Songs sung by the machi. Quoting a Panguipulli informant: "I shall sing you the song that is sung by the machi before he begins to chase away the evil spirits with firebrands, from both inside and outside the ruka: 'If you bury yourself under the earth, I shall be able to see you. Or, if you place yourself over the door, I shall see

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you. If you lay yourself upon the roof of the house, I shall see you. Even should you ascend nearly to heaven, still I shall see you.'" 755●

(8) A prolonged inquiry into the cause of the sickness and the condition of the patient.

(9) Yelling by all present. "All persons who attend the machitun walk around the ruka and cry out with all their might. This is done to chase the spirits of sickness away." It is not a palm-to-mouth cry, "it is just yelling loud!"

(10) Performing the purun (dance). "Everybody who has come to assist with his presence must dance."

(11) Rubbing the patient's body either with the plant or its extracted juice. The plant is heated over a fire until limp. Plants used are: Palqui; malva del monte; laurel común; pedwe. "The machi used pedwe in rubbing my brother; I saw it," said a 14-year-old schoolgirl who had collected a specimen. "Yes," added the 7-year-old brother, "I remember when the machi rubbed me with it." Quilmay; chilliñe; chuura. "I saw my mother being rubbed down with chuura by a machi," said a 10-year-old girl. Ortiga menor; traftrafell. "I saw the machi rub my mother with traftrafell when she was sick," said a 12-year-old boy. "My mother looked at this [specimen] and said it was the same as that which the machi had used." Wautro. A 12-year-old boy who collected a specimen in an open space on hills noted, "I collected some of these plants for the machi in the same place last year [1945] when she treated my mother. The machi held the leaves close to the fire until they were soft, and then rubbed the sap on my mother. I saw her do this. I had forgotten what plant she had used, but my father told me yesterday. I showed him this one [specimen] and he said it is the correct one." Romerillo; qüinawe; paico; felifelico (not identified; found in very wet places, usually floating on water); salce del diablo.

(12) Oral medications. Of plants for oral medication palil was the only one known to informants. The juice of its stem was mixed with a small quantity of water to make the patient vomit.

(13) Paying the machi, sometimes in advance, the customary or requested payments of money and four-footed animals. Araucanian informants thought that a machi was well paid for his treatment of the sick. "The machi who treated the sick woman whom you saw yesterday demanded 600 pesos and several heads of cattle in payment —and her family is a poor family, something the machi knows." In such cases relatives and friends who attend a machitun often contribute money to help defray the expense. "Chileans have said to me that the machi sends sickness to people so that he will be called to make the machitun for which he will then be well paid."

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155 An occasional machi employs bloodletting. He makes a slight incision in the area of pain and lets blood flow. An occasional machi sucks the spirit of sickness out either through the skin of the area of pain or through a small abrasion made by him in the skin.

A Pangipulli woman in her thirties who had no faith in machi related the following:

My father, as a young man, was very curious. He went to attend a machitun. The machi, a woman, after sucking the sick person at the place of pain for a long time, drew from her mouth a long snake and put it into a pottery vessel. Then she asked, "Are there two brave young men present?" My father and another young man stepped forward. By this time she had tied a cover very securely over the opening of the vessel. She handed the vessel to the young men and told them to go to a place some distance from there, to build a fire there, and to burn the vessel with its contents. Under no condition were they to look into that vessel; if they did so, the evil spirit of sickness would climb out of it. The young men left with the vessel. When they were out of sight my father said, "Let us look in!" But the other man said, "Under no conditions will I look into that vessel"—he was very much afraid of it. Then my father hesitated, too. Instead of looking into it, my father dashed it against a stone and broke it. Both men ran away. After a short time they went back and examined everything carefully. They found the snake to be cachayuyo, a Pacific alga, so prepared as to look exactly like a snake's head at one end. Being wet with saliva, made it look gray like a snake. "It takes an intelligent, sly person to be a machi," my father has often said; "a stupid person could never be one." Another time, my father saw a machi going about in the woods stripping bark off trees; she was looking for larvae or worms. Many she discarded, but some she kept—probably unusual ones. Later, while treating a sick person, she produced these, pretending they were the result of her sucking. When I was still a child, my father told men and also his other children never to believe in the powers of the machi; that if we examined their performances, we would find them to be known. My father has reported to Chilean authorities the extravagant fee charged by the machi for their machitun. In consequence one machi was in prison until her fee was paid. If the machi had true power to injure another, this one would most certainly have injured my father. My father said no injury has even been done to him.

The following is a complete account of a machitun as conducted in Alepún area:

Somebody in a ruka is sick; a man leaves from there with two horses. When he arrives at the machi's place, he goes into the ruka immediately, takes a bench, and sits down very close to the machi. [This is contrary to the custom which requires an invitation to be seated.] The two shake hands in a friendly way. The man then looks the machi straight in the face and begins to talk to him; he begs him to come to perform a machitun over his sick relative. The machi looks directly at the man, too, listens for a little while, and then turns away from him—but he is still listening. The man continues to talk using all the friendly words he knows, coaxing the machi to come with him; he uses expressions like these, "You are the only man who can help my sick relative. You

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event come to help." After each fantasy the machi again faces him and listens to him. Then the machi gets ready and goes with him. Each assists one of the horses the men brought, and the two ride along in silence. They arrive at the ruka of the sick person. Before entering, they erect a pole somewhat to the side of the door—a pole considerably higher than the door; usually it is a sapling of some kind that is handy. At the upper end of the pole, a white cloth [the machi's banner] is tied. Then the machi enters the ruka and sits in a place prepared for him. Next, everyone present that has the ability to speak well takes turns to sit alongside the machi and begs him to do all he can to save the sick person—each does so singly. Each person tells the machi that he believes that he (the machi) is the only one who can help this family in its grief. All must ask for this: the father and the mother, every brother, even though there are six or more, and all persons present, even if there be twenty. The machi does not turn away from them, but listens each one and listens attentively. He says to each one, "With chau's (God's) help, we shall see what we can do." Then some person from outside the household, who speaks Mapuche well, acts as a liaison between the sick person and the machi. [The informant's brother had died during the previous year, 1945; since there was no consultation in attendance, the informant had acted as the liaison.] Above the head of the sick person, in line with the body, a symmetrically shaped top end of a canelo is planted; at the foot end, either laurel or maqui, depending on the choice of the machi. Along the full length of the patient are wooden dishes filled with a selection of twigs—the choice is again that of the performing machi. Always there is a variety; and always among them are twigs of several plants that have a very aromatic odor and of one that grows in creeks. Persons present also hold sprigs of the twigs. All is now in readiness. The machi begins to beat his kultrung, and sings his first song. He sings four appropriate songs to four specific tunes at four different times. The wording of the songs is devilish; and no one but a machi is allowed to sing them. It is at this point that the machi goes into a trance. His entire body trembles; his face changes so that he no longer resembles himself, nor would he be known by others.—He looks like this until he goes out to the latrine at the end of the exhibition, when he again looks like himself.—From now on he knows nothing that happens until he returns to himself. It is for this reason that he needs the liaison: it is the duty of the liaison to take notice of all that happens and later to tell the machi about it. The machi now sings his second song and beats his kultrun, while he sits alongside the patient. At intervals, often during the convulsions, he leaps about the patient, first on his knees, then on his feet; and then he jumps onto but ends in the fireplace—he is barefooted but does not burn his feet. Then he takes from the fireplace a burning stick of wood, like a small branch of a tree, and brandishes it in circles while walking around the outside of the ruka first and then around the ruka on the inside. After this he takes glowing coals from the fireplace and drops them on the ground wherever no one is standing. Soon he drops some on the sheep pelts that cover the sick person. (The fur side is down, as always when a sheep pelt is used as covering.) Others stand by with brooms ready to sweep the hot coals off as soon as they are dropped on the pelts. Next, to intimidate the devil of sickness in the person, the machi takes a branch of canelo in one hand and a big knife in the other, and stands alongside the sick person. Then he takes his kultrung and sings a third song. In between the machi calls for certain specific twigs from those with armfuls of them, which these hand to him. And now

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comes the same moment. The anchi tells the people, through the Isleen, how serious the condition of the sick person is; he tells that the sickness began at such a time, that it is now at its height, or will be then, or then. He then indicates who caused the sickness. He sometimes so names our districts the person in any way, but he points with much emphasis in a direction and says, "That is the direction in which the one lives who is the cause of this sickness." Every one is amazed. After that, the anchi tells whether the patient will recover or not. Sometimes what he says comes true; sometimes not. This conversation has taken about a half hour. Now he takes his wada and chakon 6 while he kneels at the side of the sick person. The sick person strips himself, or if too sick, is stripped of all his clothes. Then the anchi rubs the body from head to foot with twigs while he sings his fourth song. All this takes about an hour. And this is considerable, especially if the anchi is a man and the patient a woman, or vice versa. (I did not tell you this during yesterday's interview because I was ashamed of it as a practice of my people. But after I got home, I thought about it, and I decided that I should tell it. Once I saw a motion picture in which the Pilgrims of Africa knelt before their idol while a great thunderstorm was raging. I decided that since these people were willing to have their ways written up just as they are, and since the confession is our way of doing, the truth should be told; and so now I have told it to you. But to continue.) The anchi now rises from his knees and again talks to the Isleen predicting that if the sick person has not improved in five—or maybe four—days, that he will not get well. Then he turns to all persons present and says to them that they must help him, so that the person will get well. After that he begs to relieve the pain with the hammer is and comes out of his trance.—While in his trance, he is like a man who is intoxicated: he loses his faculties of mind and says and does things that he knows nothing about when he comes to; others must tell them to him. He drinks nothing intoxicating at any time.—He now walks into the room and sits down near the Isleen—he is like an ordinary man now; just like the other people that are there. Now the Isleen must tell him all that he (the anchi) said while he was possessed by the devil.—I know all this because I have been the Isleen several times. If it were not for the sake of my relatives who ask this of me as a favor, I would never attend a confession; the whole thing is repulsive to my nature.—After the anchi has heard all that the Isleen has to tell, he says, "It is all very well." Then the head of the house will say to the anchi, "If the person recovers, we shall pay you." This will be whatever they had decided to give him, maybe pay or pay or more pesos. Very seldom does a anchi qualify the sum. This is true for all anchi in the area [Alapiai], except for one woman. If the patient does not recover, the anchi is given only 50 pesos. This is to pay for his efforts, his time, and the distance he traveled. If the people have no money, they give him an animal. The confession begins just before sunset, and lasts until nearly midnight. Some anchi tell the people that unless by their presence to sleep then, but are in Maipulihuen will not let them sleep. If the people do sleep, they are awakened long before sunrise and the same ceremony is repeated; it usually ends after the sun is somewhat above the horizon. By the time it has ended a young colt has been slaughtered and meat and tortillas prepared. The anchi and all those who helped are fed. Half of the colt, however, the anchi takes with him and also at least two, if not three, big-sized tortillas. Then everyone leaves for home. One man accompanies the anchi; there is no ceremonial leave-taking by the anchi. No conversation is carried on between

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the machi and the one who goes with him; the same is true when the machi is first commenced, as I told you before.

TREATMENT OF THE SICK BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

In addition to the machi, others that have knowledge regarding the treatment of sickness are professional herbalists, midwives, and lay persons. Administrations of health restoratives by them are performed unceremonially. Lay persons generally know only household remedies; herbalists and midwives have specialized remedies used exclusively by them. Their medicinal knowledge is principally related to the curative effects of herbs, roots, and barks. Non-Araucanians spoke of professional herbalists as "useful herbalists," "wise herbalists," and "good general practitioners."

In all areas studied, herbalists were administering herbal decoctions, poultices, and heat; in Panguipulli and Collaripe areas, vapor baths and inhalations and bloodletting also. In no area was restoration of health attempted by bloodcupping, sweating in a sweat lodge, tattooing, making physical personal sacrifices, or by a change of name. Sick children were treated in the same manner as adults, except that decoctions for children were weaker or given in smaller doses.

Health restorative knowledge has its origin in dreams. Once acquired, however, it can be shared by willing persons with others, or can be bought by them. Said one informant, "I had hiccoughed for 40 years. Then, one night in a dream my dead aunt told me to find the plant chafichafi. I found it. I squeezed the juice of it through a cloth into water as cool as it came from the spring, and I drank it. That ended my hiccoughs." In Alepúe a man was bitten by a dog. A non-Araucanian herbalist used all remedies she knew for dog bites and swollen areas; none effected any relief. "The man was writhing in pain," she said. "Another Mapuche, our neighbor, said he knew the cure; that he had dreamed it. He wanted some hair of the dog that had bitten the man. I combed the dog's fur and gave him a handful of combings. He reduced the hair to ashes, and laid the ashes on the wound. Soon the pain began to subside; in three days that vicious-looking wound began to heal. The man recovered completely. The hair, so the Mapuche said, had to be that of the dog that had done the biting. His dream had told him that."

The anatomy of the human body is not known. Location of pain is usually designated by pointing to the place of the body where it is felt. If organs are spoken of, heart and stomach are synonymous.

Informants were not always willing to give information related to the restoration of health. We found a mother in a ruka preparing an

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herbal decoction in the customary way: she was squatting close to the fireplace, keeping chips of bark that were floating on water in a large iron kettle submerged by means of a stick. When questioned what herbs she was boiling and for what sickness, she replied, "There are four kinds of herbs under the bark. The tea that I am making is for my sick daughter, there." She said no more. The interpreter noted that this was the usual answer given her when she asked for information regarding herbs.

Information which was obtained is probably a fair sample. Regarding the use of medicinal herbs, barks, and roots, the following practices were noted: Decoctions must be used the day they are prepared; plants are collected when needed, for none is stored; quantities are measured in pinches and single and double handfuls. Decoctions are made by boiling the substances, which are often pounded before being boiled. Juice of tender plants is usually extracted in the palm of the hand—the little finger end of the fist of one hand is rotated over the plant in the palm of the other hand; the juice of hardier plants is extracted by pounding with a stone and then squeezing. Leaves used as poultices are either pounded until soft or held near the fire until limp. Then the under layer is stripped off and this side of the leaf applied to the skin, to which it will easily adhere. Plants are reduced to ashes on one of the large stones at the fireplace.

The following health restoratives were being used by Araucanian herbalists or lay persons on the Coastal Range (Alepún area). The Spanish name is here given unless it was not obtained, in which case the Araucanian name is given, preceded by a dash. In most cases specimens were collected for verification.

Avellano. Water mixed with the juice of its pounded leaves is drunk for coughs. (Its fruit is used as food.)

Boldo, found in grazing lands. A decoction of its leaves is taken orally to cure a cough. (A non-Araucanian herbalist used a decoction of it as a sedative. Chileans had told her that continuous drinking of it caused a loss of memory.)

Canelo, a native tree of Chile. Its leaf placed directly on a burn or itch will have soothing effects.

—— Chillón, collected close to brooks in moist places. Its juice is taken for stomach ache.

—— Chinkiri, found in pasturelund. Its juice, taken orally, stops vomiting.

Espetro, found in woods under shrubs. Juice is squeezed by hand from its pounded leaves and taken for stomach troubles and to reduce fever.

Pucsin, found on dry land, especially on hills. Its juice is taken orally as a purgative after overeating. (The interpreter said it was general knowledge that Chileans in the area took its substance orally as an abortive.)

Lingue. Juice of its pounded leaves taken orally stimulates a delicate stomach.

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could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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dehydrated powdered navel cord which the mother had stored for this purpose. Sometimes a specific medicinal decoction for intestinal disturbances is given, such as is given to adults, but greatly diluted. A baby that is sick because of teething has its gums treated (cf. p. 276). Until recent years a ceremonial known as machitun (pp. 323-324) was performed over a critically sick child.

When a child cuts itself, or is otherwise injured, a sympathetic adult may perform the katawe (p. 272) on his own hand to help the child to endure its pain. Not infrequently remedies applied to adults for such purposes are also applied to children (cf. p. 326).

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

No Araucanian was known to be color blind. "Certainly everybody can recognize all the colors." Both men and women were known who were left-handed. "I have seen men use a hammer or an ax with the left hand, as I do with the right hand. Occasionally you see a woman hold the scissors with her left hand when cutting, as other women do with the right hand."

No informant knew of a mute or a deaf child, or a stutterer; one person, hard of hearing since babyhood, was mentioned. "I know that there are Argentine children like that. But I certainly never had any fears that one of my children would not be able to hear or speak, and speak well."

ADOPTIONS, CAPTIVES

Children were not formally adopted, but it was not unusual for a child, especially an orphaned one or one from a broken home, to be reared by its grandparents or some other close relative. During my observations an 80-year-old woman was rearing the child of a son because its mother was "so stupid that she was not even capable of doing her own washing." The old woman was also rearing an illegitimate son of the same woman, a feebleminded 14-year-old boy; the woman's son would not tolerate the boy in his house.

As previously stated (p. 265), it was believed that adults who spoke of small children, especially babies, could expect someone in the kinship group to bring them a child to rear, most likely a grandchild.

Araucanians took Argentines as captives and were themselves taken as captives. This occurred during the years when the Argentine Government, through its army, was conquering the lands occupied and claimed by the Araucanians. An informant whose father was an

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from our orchard. Several days later he returned with two of them, went to the house of one of our neighbors who had two daughters and where he was well known, and offered an apple to each of the two girls. One girl ate hers immediately, the other ate hers a little later—it was this one the machi wished to marry. But the girl did not want to marry him; her parents knew this. Without warning, the girl suddenly became insane. Her father told the cacique what had happened, and said, 'You must help us.' The cacique sent for his own brother and for the machi, and, in the presence of the brother and the girl's father, said to the machi, 'You have done damage to this girl; you want to force her to marry you; that is why you have done this to her.' But the machi would not admit it. The cacique, his brother, and the father of the girl then went to the Argentine military officers who were in control of our area. The cacique had told the machi to appear there, but he did not do so. While the three men were talking to the officers, they noticed through a window that the machi was passing by. The military officers ordered two soldiers to bring him in. Again the machi denied that he had done any harm to the girl. The Argentine colonel ordered a scissors to be brought and threatened to cut off the machi's hair—he had long hair. But the machi kept saying, 'No, señor. No, señor.' Then they whipped him with 5 lashes; still he denied it, then with 10, and still he denied it. They threatened 15 lashes, and then he admitted his guilt. The colonel ordered him to remove immediately the damage he had inflicted on the girl. The machi promised to do this, and accompanied by two soldiers started out for the girl's home. Near a brook along the mountainside, he asked the soldiers to halt. They did so. He plucked several handfuls of grass that grew close to the water's edge and they walked on. When they arrived at the girl's home, he asked for a clean plate. He crushed the grass between the palms of his hands, squeezed out the juice, and told the girl to swallow it. This was two months after he had done her the damage. That girl vomited all the apple that she had eaten two months before! After that she got well. Later, she told how, during the period of insanity, she had run to the shores of Lake Lacar and had jumped into and out of three fires there without being harmed."

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PHYSICIANS; THE MACHITUN

The sick were treated by herbalists who were specialists and by machi who were either both herbalists and sorcerers, or only sorcerers. "It depended upon the type of sickness that a person had, as to who was called in." Machi, however, are not respected by Argentines;

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they call them curandero (quacks); herbalists are respected; they are often spoken of as yerbaderas (dealers in herbs). Machi and herbalists were of both sexes.

The machi exercised his curative powers during a performance known as machitun. It was performed over any sick person, including infants. "Sometimes the machi cured people; sometimes he made them worse." Previous to the performance of a machitun, a substantial price in animals had to be promised. Today, the machitun is forbidden by Argentine law; occasionally, however, it is performed under cover. The machi beats the kultrun, screams and sings; holds a knife in the fire until well heated and passes it over his lower lip without burning the lip; and discovers the cause of the sickness by asking the sick person, through another, an intermediary, about the symptoms. In Malleo area a woman machi orders a black pullet to be brought, directs the sick person to spit into the pullet's mouth while she herself holds its bill apart, then kills the pullet immediately, opens its viscera, and examines well the contents, in which she discovers the type of sickness that afflicts the person. This she announces and also, in vague terms, the person who caused the sickness.

TREATMENT BY HERBALISTS AND LAY PERSONS

Herbalists as specialists are practically nonexistent among the Argentine Araucanians. "In Chile there are still many of them. Some of our people could again learn from them, but our herbs here are different from those in Chile; therefore the remedies for certain sicknesses are different from ours, in Chile." Medicinal plants, used as household remedies, however, are known to many persons, including children. School-age boys and girls, who scampered over the countryside to find for me specimens of plants mentioned by their grandmothers as household remedies, usually brought back additional plants which the grandmother had forgotten to mention. The anatomy of the human body is obviously not well known—the heart was indicated as being at the waistline; the stomach, in the abdomen.

An Argentine doctor in charge of the First Aid Station (La Sala de Primer Auxilio) and the Military Hospital—both in San Martin de los Andes—where free health service is given to all who wish it, said, "On the whole, the Araucanians are a sturdy people. And they know how to use their household remedies effectively."

The following medicinal plants are used as household remedies. Names here given are in Spanish unless the informant knew only the Araucanian name, in which case the Araucanian name is given.

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plication of a Supreme Being, *ñenechen*. Religious activity as observed in funeral rights centers on a concern with authentic ancestral spirits, for the most part, and supplication of *ñenechen*. Fertility rites are directed mainly, except for the first day of the ceremony and occasionally thereafter, to mythical ancestors, regional gods, and *ñenechen*. Both ceremonies rest on lineage-based obligations, but both involve the attendance of nonrelated groups; the host group and the guests, taken together, comprise the ritual congregation. This congregation has a core membership which is more or less invariable year in and year out. A major concern of the congregation during any ritual assemblage is counteracting the forces of evil, collectively called *wekufe*, and the human embodiment of evil, the sorcerer-witch who is called *kalku*.

The persons who are most intimately concerned with restraining evil and who are most competent to perform on behalf of the living are the *ñillatufe* or ritual priest who represents the people in *ñillatun* ceremonies, the several *weupin* or orators who represent the patrilineages of the deceased and the surviving spouse or other relatives in the funeral service, and the *machi* or shaman who sometimes acts as a functionary during *ñillatun*, in the absence of a ritually competent *ñillatufe*, but whose main task is curing clients of supernaturally induced illness.

The *ñillatufe* and *weupin* have no special powers of their own and act only as ritually proficient intercessors for the assemblage. The shaman is powerful in her own right and is the single member of any community who is so continually preoccupied with the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil. She stages a curing performance which is quite theatrical and admittedly calculated to impress her patient and observers with her powers. Her paraphernalia includes a drum (*kultrun*) and specially decorated stick, a gourd rattle or one of silver bells, and numerous special herbs. She blows smoke over the patient's body, makes water aspersions, sucks out intrusive objects from affected parts of the body, and so forth. She often becomes possessed by a familiar spirit which "speaks" in a special language through the *machi* to her helper (*thungulmachin*). *Machi* who are adept at ventriloquism are able to throw their "spirit" voices to all corners of the hut, creating an atmosphere of awesome mystery which grips the attention of those assembled. By definition, a *machi* enlists the forces of good to combat evil in behalf of the people. Nevertheless, the fact that she has personal contact with the forces of evil,

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hierarchy of ethnic deities. All spirits of the dead are generally watchful over human activities, but all may not be equally alerted to lend supernatural aid to merely anyone. The type or closeness of the kinship bond between ancestor and descendant is of great importance in this regard. Another important feature of the relationship is the ritual ability which is brought into play on these occasions. The nature of the kinship bond and the degree of ritual ability are variables which modify the sets of statuses and roles adhering to different propitiatory offices and which condition ritual activities and beliefs. In turn, these variables affect the traditional sets of rights and obligations which are ideally binding on the dead and the living alike. Depending, then, on the specific needs of the living and the dead, we must consider a range of ceremonial activity and a range of ritual suitability within the broader context of Mapuche morality.

No ancestral spirit is inherently immune from contamination by a *kalku*. Therefore, any ancestral spirit might become captured and made to do harm but, conversely, not all the uncontaminated spirits will necessarily do good. And, once captured by a *kalku*, a spirit may do harm to anyone, having been converted into a force of generalized evil. In addition, evil is cumulative in the sense that contaminated spirits are continually recruited and remain eternally malevolent. Something of a corollary of this belief is the notion that "sorcerers never die"—that is, their spirits never leave earth or cease doing evil, being inherited by other people with evil (*wesa*) tendencies. Under these conditions, the ranks of evil continue to increase.

On critical occasions ordinary men and women lack the ritual skills requisite to deal successfully with ancestral spirits. Therefore, in time of crisis resort is made to one or another kind of ritual specialist. The fields of ritual performance are several. They are analytically separable, but there is a good deal of overlap among them. At this point, I will merely indicate some areas of ritual overlap and mention certain instances of multiple ritual roles. The shaman, for example, characteristically engages in what might be called a private séance for the purpose of curing clients; but shamans also perform in public fertility ceremonies as well as in the initiation or revalidation rites (fiekurewen) connected with their own "society."

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Introduction

kinship and free association. But only with difficulty can they be extended to include such aspects of human behavior as religion . . . to say nothing of the unspoken sanctions that underlie all conduct (1952:29).

This view of social systems has been demolished by modern social anthropology. Indeed, it was not the position of early twentieth-century Mapuche specialists, such as Guevara, Latcham, and Edwards (see Appendix).

Durkheim must be cited for his clear enunciation that religious phenomena are social phenomena and may be studied solely in terms of their interconnections as a system of beliefs and practices in relation to other structures of social action. It is with this general concept in mind that Mapuche religious morality is herein discussed. It is my hope that in this context the Mapuche system of morality may be examined most profitably, that there will be greater understanding of Mapuche concepts and associated activities in themselves, and that this study will serve as a useful unit of comparison in the investigation of morality and ritual among other peoples.

In the struggle between good and evil there are three aspects of ritual behavior which may be singled out for separate consideration. These may be classed as community rites, private rites, and secret rites keyed, respectively, by priest and congregation, shaman, and sorcerer. Public rites are held periodically for the common good; shamanistic rites sometimes publically for the common good, but usually privately for individual ends; sorcery always secretively, and for the purpose of enhancing the position of one person or group over that of another. It is by no means always clear where the line between "evil ends" and "culturally condoned ends" is to be drawn with respect to sorcery. But there can be no general disagreement that, on the whole, shamanism is on the side of good (although shamans are sometimes feared) and sorcery on the side of evil.

This does not mean that sorcery is dysfunctional, or that sorcery creates tensions within the social structure. In certain instances the disruptive force of sorcery is apparent; in others, or perhaps from a wider angle of vision, it may be argued that sorcery—and, by extension, the concept of evil—is functional,

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for the *shompalwe*, and after once killing their first victim they become insatiable, continually on the prowl to obtain victims.

Visions of departed kinsmen in dreams do not necessarily mean one will become ill, as I have already indicated, but they do have an unsettling effect on the dreamer. Dreams of good omen are discussed with relatives, whose agreement is sought that the dream is without doubt a good one. Because there is nearly always some feeling that ancestors could have been treated better in life and propitiated more often and with more care in death, people tend to feel unsure of their appearance in dreams. If there is not full agreement about the import of a dream, a person usually pours frequent libations and offers personal prayers to his ancestors, and one might even seek the counsel of a shaman before the ill effects of the dream are actually experienced. There is a margin of safety present, since the effect of a bad dream as well as that of all black magic works slowly. One, therefore, has to have recurrent dreams of ill omen, or has to be repeatedly exposed to magical forces, before illness takes firm hold. However, an individual who deliberates on his evil fortune is prone to interpret minor ailments as serious ones and actually sickens from fear. The shaman, then, is the only available recourse.

Key Origin Myths

Mapuche mythology is rich and varied, pan-Mapuche myths having many local expressions. I have selected three myths from this large inventory in order to show particularly the fundamental nature of Mapuche mythology and to indicate how this relates (as it does not in all cases) to notions of morality—good, evil, and redemption.

The import of local variation is sociological rather than culturological. The basic theme of the first myth, that of Tren Tren and Kai Kai, variations on which are reported in all important works on the Mapuche, is common knowledge to all Mapuche. The local expressions or variations involve the fabrication of linkage between contemporary Mapuche and their supposed ancestral progenitors, the founders of the Mapuche "race." This fabrication is of the same order as genealogical manipulation, mentioned in the previous chapter. It is a binding

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The syringe and the aspirin
767 combat certain illnesses better than some traditional herbal
755 remedies, but should the new methods fail resort is made to the
177 native curer, and the patient is always brought to the threshhold of the supernatural world.

764 Upon death, there are certain preparatory acts to be per-
591 formed. These follow a ritual pattern. Since post-marital residence is patrilocal (with respect to the husband's reservation), a married woman most often dies among her neighbors, on the reservation into which she has married, rather than among her patrilineal kinsmen. Her husband and his closest relatives are responsible for attending to the proper display and burial of her
[613] corpse. A man dies among his lineage mates and is cared for by his wife, grown children, and closest blood relatives. The same procedure is followed regardless of whether the deceased is single, married, adult, or child of either sex, although in the case
[613] of minors there is less ostentation and fewer mourners. One important difference between the death services of an adult married woman or man and a child is that in the case of the child, the attendance of the affinally linked group is less complete.

764 While still indoors, the dead person is referred to as *l'ayen*. The corpse at this time is considered dangerous to handle, making the necessary washing, dressing, and so forth a heavy obligation on those to whom it falls. Children are kept away from the corpse and are [illegible]ven supposed to view it. Once the wake is over and the l[illegible] ceremony is underway, this feeling about the newly dead diminishes. The entire body of the dead person is washed, usually by one or two of the adult co-residents of his household. [illegible]ttempt is made to preserve the
[178] corpse by draining the body [illegible]uid, but the practice of smoking the body of an important person still exists, although it is uncommon.

While it is possible that smoking the corpse was more common in the past—and there is no reason to believe this—it takes place nowadays only if burial is infeasible, owing to frozen ground (a problem only in the Andes) or to unusual delay in assembling the relatives of the deceased. Andean Mapuche tell of the corpse being hung over the cooking fire in the household

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rewe (a step-notched and carved pole outside her house, which she climbs during certain ceremonies), considered to contain power transmitted by *ñenechen* and the *machi's* familiars (*pillan*).

The *machi* must be able to undergo spirit possession and communicate through an interpreter (*thungulmachin*) who tells the *machi* the things she revealed while in a state of trance. For while possessed, the *machi* is unaware of what she says and does and often uses a secret language consisting of a set of sacred formulas. She sometimes handles hot coals and passes her arms through fire. It is said that *machi* used to place hot coals in their mouths and were able to walk barefoot over glowing embers. Also, they customarily blew tobacco smoke over their patients' bodies in the four cardinal directions, a tradition which some continue to observe.

The *machi* enters a state of trance, during which possession occurs if she is successful, only in order to cure the most serious illnesses. Whether there is possession or not, her rhythmic incantations and drum-beating always have some autohypnotic effect and lend a mysterious, otherworldly air to her performance. Using herbal remedies (*lawen*), massaging affected parts of the body, sucking those parts where invisible venomous darts have entered, and spraying water over the body are also important features of a curing ceremony (*machitun*). Most cures are first attempted by essentially medicinal means, overtly magical cures being resorted to when herbal concoctions appear to have no remedial effect. *Machi* agree that supernatural curing exhausts them and that it is dangerous to be possessed by their familiars, one's own soul (*am*) being placed in jeopardy during trance states. The danger is twofold: the returned familiar spirit may be captured by a *kalku* and turned against the *machi*, and the *machi's* loosed soul might be captured by a *kalku*, whereupon the *machi* herself could be forced to become a witch. A final consideration of whether a supernatural cure is attempted is the patient's ability to pay the high cost of the performance.

Nowadays, the vast majority of *machi* are females. Most of those I met seemed to be leading usual enough domestic lives, although they had married comparatively late in life. It was immediately apparent in some cases that these women domi-

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One night I dreamed that I could see. I had this dream for several months, then I lost it. It bothered me no longer to have this good dream. I finally went back to Boroa to see my laku [father's uncle] and found that he had died. I wanted him to explain things to me. I told another machi about my dream, and she liked it. I stayed with her for several years, but never slept with her. She taught me many things.

Gradually, I began to have power. I began dreaming again, and used to dream about my laku, the machi. The woman I was with did not like this; she thought it was dangerous. So I left her. I kept on having dreams, and I began to learn what they were about. I began to work cures on sick people, although I did not know any remedies. I made a drum which I beat at night. After this, my dreams were more powerful than ever before. I felt power, and used it to cure sick people where I stayed. I finally came to Pelchue [Toltén], where I married a widow with children—these. Now I have several children by my own semen. My wife has died. I could not save her. Maybe I am losing my power. My daughter [stepdaughter] and her husband live with me and take care of things.

I do not cure any more. I do not know much about remedies. I only cure very sick people, like the crazy boy who lives near where you and your wife stay. I made two holes in his head to let out the wekufe. I think they are still with him. He was very crazy and very sick all the time, and the doctor [Chilean] could not help him. He came to me and I cured him in a month, but he is getting sick again. He is crazy. I have no patience with plants and rubbing the body like a matrona. Men are more powerful machi than women. They are not afraid to talk to the spirits. I talk with them at night. I frequently have very good dreams.

This *machi* also said that he had been possessed only a few times, and that his greatest power lay in dreaming and communing with the *pillan*. He would visit a very sick person in his house, remain with him until he had a powerful dream, and then cure according to the dictates of the dream—cures which often required bloodletting and surgery. He continually maintained that his power lay outside himself.

Ordinary illnesses, such as colds, light fever, broken bones, and so on, are either treated at home by a *matrona*, or by a Chilean clinician in town, both of whom charge less than a machi.

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machi. The latter is often called upon to assist at difficult births, if she is known to be especially skilled at delivery. In this role, the performance is not essentially magical, although an initial incantation is made to insure success. The *machi* is called in on these occasions to provide practical knowledge in delivery—infusion of herbs, massage, and so forth. As her reputation grows so does her clientele.

Illness is attributed to the persistence of evil forces, since the *wekufe* are always with one in any case; thus when recovery is delayed and death seems to threaten, a *machi* is called in. The young man who had the operation on his head had gone to see a Chilean doctor in town, but when his headaches and nausea did not ease he consulted the blind *machi*, whom he was certain would at least deal with the *wekufe* even though success was not assured. Their indifference to Mapuche notions of illness and their obvious inability to deal with the forces of evil have worked against Chilean doctors' influence in Mapuchcland.

Supernaturally induced, illness may come from intrusion into the person of some malignant quality or object. These intrusions are associated with certain signs or symptoms, which, if not already apparent to the patient, are revealed to him by the *machi*. Dreams, omens, contacts with *witranalwe*, and so forth, all may give rise to illness. Examples of bad omens are the following: the death of a tree in an orchard, a tree flowering after bearing fruit, one's falling down and sitting on the ground, evidence of dampness under the bed, a hen crowing like a cock, and all the evidence for the presence of forces of evil mentioned already. In dreams, having one's hair cut is a sign of poverty and hardship. Being shaven, walking barefoot, falling from a tree, having teeth pulled, being arrested by the police—all these dreams presage sickness of one kind or another. These dreams are discussed by the people, and the discussion either serves to dispel fear or reinforce it to such an extent that the person becomes worried enough to consult a *machi*. Since shamanistic curing is always costly, it is not a thing which is undertaken lightly. Then, too, *machi* are not visited professionally without good reason, for they are somewhat feared. The *machi* will clarify dreams or omens and recommend herbal remedies. This is about the simplest curing technique and involves no magical

[1. e. the machi -- Analyst]

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operations, merely the shaman's professional knowledge. There are many old men and women who have a store of knowledge about medicinal plants which vies with that of the *machi*, but they have no power and receive no payment for their assistance. 755 756

When illness is serious, especially of a very painful nature or accompanied by high fever, a *machi* will be called in by the person's family to make a diagnosis and effect a cure. This involves a fairly elaborate ceremony (*machitun* or *pillantun*) which may last a day or more. *Machi* are well rewarded for their services when successful, but their reputation suffers when they fail. People become suspicious of them if they have a series of failures. For this reason a *machi* will be very careful to diagnose illness before attempting a cure. If she decides that the patient is likely to recover if properly treated, she will proceed with the cure. If the patient seems too near death, the *machi* will often decline to take the case and beg off on the grounds that she has been called in too late or even that she is not sure her power is strong enough. This calculated bit of honesty raises the percentage of her cures and, as well, her status in the community.

The reaction to a shaman is recorded in the following vignette as told by a man of about fifty-five years of age: 755 756 159

> Many years ago I was very sick. They called a machi to hold a machitun. She came and looked me all over. There were many of my father's brothers present who talked to the machi about me and the ceremony. All of them agreed that a machitun should be held.
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> The machi gave orders to the thungulmachin to bring herbs, urine, canelo leaves, and other things from her house to my father's. Meanwhile, they danced around the house and shouted at the wekufe. All the while they drank a lot of chicha to make the cure effective. The machi drank and smoked her pipe.
>
> I was very sick that night. The next day the thungulmachin returned with the things he was sent for. I was made to inhale chili-pepper smoke to clear my head and lungs. The machi rubbed me with the sacred leaves and putrid urine. She prayed over me for two days. I became worse. They chased the machi away when she told them they had not called her in time, and they did not pay her. They called a priest of the church [Catholic] who came the next day to see me. That night, before he came, I saw an anchimallen. It was standing in a [787]

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755 corner of the house looking directly at me. Nobody else saw it.
756 I was too sick to tell them it was there. It wore a coffee-colored
159 chamal wrapped around it, long hair which reached almost to
787 the ground, and it was very ugly. It was no more than two feet high.

When I finally told my father that I had seen the anchimallen, he became very excited and wanted to recall the machi. The others told him it would be better to wait for the priest, since the machi would not return to the house where she was insulted. My father compromised. He said that he wanted to get me out of the house, away from the anchimallen, to another house where the machi would visit if the priest failed to come. They carried me to my uncle's house, which was nearby. It is there that the priest came to see me the next day. After talking to the priest and taking the medicine he gave me, I never saw the anchimallen again. The priest chased it away with the cross and the Bible. I have never seen the wekufe since.

755 The greatest danger in all cases of serious illness is "soul-
[753] loss." Because of the weakened condition of the person in either illness or sleep, the soul (*am*) is exposed to the forces of evil, which may capture it. Fever is often felt to be caused by the grappling between the soul and these extraneous forces. The *machi* dispels the evil, reduces the fever. First she diagnoses the exact cause of illness. The exactness of diagnosis is one thing which serves to differentiate her from other practitioners, such as *matronas* and Chilean doctors. If the *wekufe* possess the body, the *machi* drives them out. If they have captured the soul, she recovers it if possible. This is initiated by incantation.
[782] *Nenechen* is prayed to and the *machi*'s familiars (*pillan*) are pressed into service through her power, or at least through her sensitivity and her ability to commune with them.

[753] Soul-loss, therefore, is considered the most serious of all illness, because especially strong power is needed to retrieve the soul from the hands of the *kalku* before it is contaminated and irrevocably lost. Protecting the soul from falling into the *kalku*'s power is a different kind of task, signalized by the recovery of someone from a lesser illness. One case in which a *machi* failed
755 to retrieve the soul of her patient was described to me by a
159 forty-year-old man. I relate it below in much abbreviated
756 form.

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When I was young my sister became very sick and it was decided to have a machitun for her. The machi came one morning with her kultrun and bells. The thungulmachin carried the machi's remedies in his saddle bags, which he placed inside the door of our house. All the family was present. They all knew the machi. She came over to where I was sitting with my sister and talked to both of us. We knew her well, and often played with her children. She was a relative of my mother.

To find out the cause of illness, the machi prayed to her pillan to aid her. The pillan are her ancestors who used to be machi. From them she obtains her power to conquer the wekufe. They enter her body and tell her what is the cause of illness, and if it is possible to cure it. After a while the pillan entered the machi. She began to wail and the thungulmachin sat very close to her to hear her words. She began to shake all over and could not control her hands or arms. She dropped the kultrun into the fire by mistake, and the thungulmachin pulled it out quickly.

The machi talked in gasps. It was hard to hear her. She used many odd words, the way machi do. I could not understand much of what she said. She opened her eyes and lighted her pipe from the fire. She blew smoke over her hands and arms. Then she came over to where my sister was and lifted her covers and blew smoke all over her naked body.

Then the machi sat down at the fire, and the thungulmachin began to tell her what she said when she was possessed. He told her what herbs to use. He said that wekufe had stolen my sister's soul and that a kalku who lived in the mountains had it. He told her that she had to put the blade of her knife on her arms and legs before she mixed the remedy.

The machi still trembled from time to time. She placed the blade of the knife on her arms and she stopped trembling. Then she took cold water and mixed it with the herbs she had placed in her bowl. She rubbed this over my sister's body. This took about an hour. She stopped rubbing and started to beat her drum and sing over my sister.

Then she was possessed again. This lasted only a few minutes. The thungulmachin had to hold her or she would have collapsed into the fire. He told her that the girl would die. The machi told my father that she could not do any good, that she could not recover my sister's soul. She sat there for a long time. My father talked to her once in a while, but there was not much talking. Then she got up and went off. She rode off with the

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755 thungulmachin. She told my father that only the kalku could reprieve the life of my sister, and that this was unlikely. She 756 said that she could do nothing, but that my father should 159 call upon his own ancestors and ñenechen. Two days later my sister died.

761 When death occurs there is sometimes a desire on the part of 763 the deceased's closest relatives to determine its exact cause. Ex- 787 actness in such cases is within certain flexible limits. There is no way except through the intervention of shamans to find out the exact sorcerer, and even less chance that the exact evil-wisher, the *kalku*'s client, will be discovered. Divination in the form of autopsy, still practiced by the Mapuche, is therefore designed to comfort the living relatives by showing that death has been caused by some irresponsible force of evil. The following story points this up significantly. It was told me by the son of a *thungulmachin*.

My father was a thungulmachin, a machi's helper. He was her grandson and she taught him many things, because she loved him. He learned much from her and could often diagnose illness, but he had no power. He never tried to become a machi.

One time, after my great-grandmother died, my father was called upon to diagnose a case all by himself. It was the body of a dead little boy. His people were afraid that his spirit had been [553] taken by a kalku, and that he might become an anchimallen, since he was still without a name [i.e. had not undergone the lakutun naming ceremony].

My father took his knife and cut open the boy's stomach, finding a ball of water inside after he withdrew the intestines. He said that showed the boy had been killed by an arumko [a water spirit]. The people were happy he had not been taken by a kalku. They paid my father well.

Bones, appendix, and liver are all used in determining supernatural causation, and divination results in fairly non- [178] specific interpretation of this sort. *Machi* say that they do not perform autopsy often nowadays, although almost all of them claim to know how to interpret the signs, having learned to make these judgements during their training period. They say that people no longer demand that autopsies be made; that once

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a person dies people assume that they themselves are in grave supernatural danger, autopsy or not.

A simple method of divining the cause of death, and therefore the extent to which the survivors themselves are threatened, is to place a bowl of flour near the head of the corpse. If some of the flour is gone after the night passes, the person's spirit has eaten it, which indicates that the spirit is hungry and well and not in the hands of *kalku*. It is again a consoling notion, and much less expensive than the services of a specialist.

Machi claim that they are difficult to persuade to perform counter magic against a *kalku*. While such enterprise is entirely legitimate, it places the *machi* in the same general camp with the *kalku* and, if the people are at all suspicious of her, could ruin her reputation. People tend to confirm this claim, saying that *machi* no longer perform magic directly against sorcerers, at least not against professional sorcerers. *Machi*, therefore, content themselves and their clients with preventing death and curing illness by chasing away evil spirits, rather than by killing witches (i.e. causing their bodies to die) and releasing the captured spirits. At the death of a patient, then, a *machi* usually has no further service to offer.

Machi always operate in an atmosphere charged with danger, but they see a great difference between chasing away evil spirits sent by a *kalku* and killing the *kalku* herself. Although *machi* do not like to deal directly with *kalku*, they are not reluctant to discover them, which is much less dangerous. This is generally done in a ceremony called *kalkutun*.[1] The ceremony lasts a long

[1] I have never witnessed this ceremony, but I managed to persuade a *machi* friend to enact a modified version of it. The ceremony followed the basic pattern suggested in the vignettes above. In the darkened room, the (denied) ventriloquism was very effective. From time to time, the *machi* threw straw on the fire and, as corners of the room became lighted momentarily, threw her voice in that direction. My wife's supposed inability to produce offspring was the occasion for this ceremony. The diagnosis was *koftun*—emasculation of the husband by a woman who had borne him a child out of wedlock. The *machi* felt I knew who practiced *koftun* against me. We were told to sip from two bottles of medicine every morning and evening for the next month. After the stated period passed, my wife became pregnant. It should not be difficult to imagine the impact on the local people of this "international" power of the *machi*.

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114 machi might be filled by a man or a woman" (1951:117). There
178 are a number of sources on the Mapuche, a few of which appear
462 in Titiev's bibliography, which could be cited to throw doubt on
756 this statement. However, going far back, Ovalle (1646) tells us that there were female *machi* in the seventeenth century, and the *Actas del Cabildo de Santiago* attest to their existence in the sixteenth century, as well. The greatest problem involved in judgments of this sort made by Cooper and Titiev seems to be related to an impatience with the historical record.

17 According to the best documented sources dealing with the
756 events of relatively recent history, such as the works of Moesbach
462 and Félix José de Augusta, we know that there were many
[755] female *machi* practicing around the end of the last century, and that the methods of supernatural curing were pretty much as they are today. Female *machi* are not distinguished from males except for the latter's role in forecasting the outcome of military activities. It is possible that when peace was established the male *machi* lost stature among their followers (although this seems undiscoverable from the written records) either because they were felt to have lost power or because there was no longer a need for their costly services. Whether or not this was the case seems undiscoverable from the sources, or from the learned discourses presumably based on the sources, and to build anything on this kind of guess is methodologically unsound. We are left, however, with a consideration of power and its inheritance, which takes us to a consideration of the *machi*'s position with respect to patrilineal descent groups and the system of matrilateral marriage—regardless of the sex of the shaman.

756 Shamanistic power is not inherited from one's father or mother or from other close relatives. It is not inherited at all, in the sense of being transmitted to someone because of his position in some kind of descent group, however conceived. A male shaman might instruct his son to become adept in shamanistic theatrics (although I cannot give eye-witness proof of this information), but supernatural power is never passed along from one living person to another. It is also doubtful if a male shaman has familiar spirits, which is perfectly consistent with the morality structure of a patrilineal system. Female shamans do have familiar spirits from whom they receive power;

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754 (grown children in one case and husband and children in the
756 other) remained away from the *tillatun*. They were not invited
759 and they seemed not to wish to participate. A *kalku*'s children
796 are not automatically charged with being witches, but it is never overlooked that their mother was a witch and, if their actions seem peculiar and threatening, they too may fall under the shadow of suspicion.

754 Another case which came to my attention was that of a woman accused of killing her entire family. No means of ascertaining the actual cause of death was available to me, but they all died within a six-month period. The surviving woman had been suspected of dealing in witchcraft, and this catastrophe was all the proof the community needed. They called upon the [155] services of a *machi* to perform a *machitun* (or *machipurun*), and at considerable expense since several *machi* and their assistants were involved in a daylong ceremony. The *kalku* was not evicted from the reservation, because the land was scheduled for division into severalties and the people wanted no interference from the Chilean police at that time. It was hoped that the witch would sell her land, once the reservation was disbanded, and move away. The police were informed of the multiple murder-by-witchcraft but apparently took the matter lightly.

578 When feelings are especially strained between persons, even
754 though they may be members of the same family, spontaneous
626 accusations of witchcraft are sometimes made in anger, especially if either person suffers injury, sickness, or bad luck. Usually, both the fear of sorcery and the fear of being called a witch curtails rivalry and overt hostility. But it is not so effective a mechanism that such fears are not felt and accusations occasionally made, regardless of the consequences to the persons [595] or groups involved. It appears that in polygynous households co-wives levy these charges against one another, especially when relationships are strained because one wife is favored over another. This sort of thing also occurs in extended-family households [596] between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, and between [606] brothers' wives, most usually when the women are not related [607] patrilineally. But the possibility of witchcraft being practiced against one from almost any quarter within one's residential

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performance. Sometimes they assemble to cure one of their members, sometimes to cure an important and wealthy person.
[155]
Collectively, these reunions of *machi* are most often called *machipurun* (whence the Spanish, *bailes de machi*) or *pillerun*. Since "marrying the cinnamon tree" is part of these ceremonies, they may also be called *foiñurewen*, and since curing powers are always demonstrated, they are sometimes loosely referred to (but not by shamans) as *machiñun*.

The same core group of *machi* assembles at these *machipurun* on successive occasions over many years, usually from initiation to death. The group, therefore, has regional identity, although, as with the *füllatun* congregating, there is some vagueness in the definition of the periphery, when the region is viewed empirically as an average expression of actual participation. In an ideal sense, the regions may be conceived of as circular and overlapping. Empirically, regional peripheries are fuzzy, shifting zones, depending on where the *machipurun* is held from one time to the next. In this sense, while there is at any given time or occasion a core of *machi* (designated as such by the membership) who reassemble through the years, there also tends to be a web of relationships established over a wide area. Shamans from Teltén, for example, do not meet with those from Temuco, many kilometers distant, but shamans living as far apart as this know each other by reputation, largely because of the series of links established between them through overlapping membership.

Like *kalku*, shamans derive strength from their association with other shamans. Certainly, their *machipurun* give them a corporateness in terms of action and spatial and temporal unity. New members are continually recruited in group ceremonies at which they validate their claim to membership in performances before the living and the dead.

Sorcery and Social Solidarity

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In a society in which sorcery is a constant danger and, at least in time of stress, deep concern is manifested in necromancy and freewheeling malevolent forces, one might expect to discover weaknesses in the structure of solidarity exposed where these practices and sentiments are most apparent. Characteristically, between what individuals and groups are feelings of hostility

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

by others. The language, of which I learnt a few words, seemed softer and more melodious, as well as possessing a more copious vocabulary, than the guttural Tehuelche, and appeared to me closely akin to the Pampa tongue; but Jackechan, who could speak both, and Gravino, strongly insisted on the distinction between the two dialects. Their personal habits were excessively neat and cleanly, the morning bath never being omitted by men, women, and children, who all regularly trooped down to the water just before dawn; and their dress was much more carefully attended to than that of the Patagonians. I had no opportunity of witnessing their religious ceremonies, but was assured that they are worshippers of the sun, and there was no vestige of idols of any sort possessed by them. Their ceremonials on occasions of births, &c., were very similar to those of the Tehuelches, save that the 'doctor' appeared on such occasions more elaborately adorned with various colours.

When Quintuhual's niece was sick, her brother enacted the part of 'wizard,' duly painted and adorned with a head-dress of feathers. Instead of a mandil tent, a screen of ponchos hung over posts was erected, and all the finery of the family displayed. I was a guest at the feast of slaughtered mares, but was not present at the previous proceedings, as by this time the restraints of dignity as a caciquillo forbade my wandering about as an idle spectator.

They were invariably scrupulous not to commence a meal without first throwing broth or a small piece of meat on the ground, at the same time muttering a charm to propitiate the Gualichu, and they are generally more superstitious and more fearful of witchcraft than even the other Indians. They have some knowledge of precious stones, and seem to attribute certain virtues to them. Thus Foyel possessed what seemed to be a magnificent rough turquoise, which he was on the point of bestowing on me, when his wife and brother-in-law interposed some remark, upon which he apologised, saying that he did not like to part with it, as it

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche SH5
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164 toldos and took the road leading to Patagones; but our toldo and another remained behind on account of the continued illness of Graviel and the others. Towards evening
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755 of the same day we suddenly heard shouts and cries in the toldos of Foyel, and all except Casimiro, who sat quite still by the fireside, rushed to seize their arms, naturally thinking that a party had arrived to fight from Las Manzanas. After a little suspense we observed a line of men advancing towards our toldos on foot, shouting, firing, and brandishing their arms. Casimiro, who was having a quiet laugh at us, then explained that they were only fighting the sickness. The party advanced to our toldo, beating the back of it with their lances, to scare away the Gualichu, and then
A
retired.

173 We all had a good laugh over this affair; and I was amused to hear Meña, who was an intelligent youth, arguing that the Indians were quite right, as sickness never attacked
A
an armed man.

431 We lived chiefly on air the last four days of our stay in Geylum, as no hunting was done; but Foyel, after learning our wants, came to the rescue, presenting me with a couple of sheep, which I received with gratitude, and divided amongst the party.

000 It had been intended that this party should accompany the Tehuelches to Patagones, but as it would be necessary to leave their women and children in Geylum with only a few boys to take care of the flocks and herds, and they were not confident as to the pacific intentions of the Manzaneros, he and Quintuhual considered it more advisable to remain for the present in their camp, and afterwards, by riding in fast, to overtake our party *en route* previous to their arrival in the settlements.

I bid an affectionate adieu to Miss Foyel, who had always shown me the greatest kindness, and the natural grace of whose manners would have adorned a civilised drawing-room. Her parting words were an invitation to return if